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[For information on the territorial organization and structure of the western Jebala, including data on the village, the "Khoms" and the tribe, see 2: Montagne, MW11 Shluh, category 116, pp. 221-224.]

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Shluh MW11

[For information on the council of the agadir -- a body of notables who see to the functioning, maintenance and security of the cantons or moudas agadirs (store houses) -- see categories 571 and 343.]

000 /10/ takes wandering over the whole face of the known world. These "bouches," yawning in a mysterious hinterland, will cause him a thousand anxieties. Perhaps on the passage of the Seksawa he has been fleeced. He thinks, with devout fear, of the old inexpugnable practices: adoration of the ram (1),

> 1. G. Germain is led by several indications, one of which is the actual presence of Idaw i-yzimmer, to locate in our region these heretics denounced by al-Bakrî in the twelfth century, "Le culte du bélier en Afrique du Nord /Ram worship in North Africa/," Hesp., 1948, p. 113

sexual freedom (2),

> 2. It is known that this theme, both legally and polemically, has not yet been abandoned.

that are told of the montagnards. But the purchase of almonds, olives, and nuts, made in this illicit background, the kind of panic that seizes him before the swarming of the hordes in ambush on the heights, will enliven his passage and later his recollections, his Rih'la, whose high-flown arrangement he is already practicing, not from disdain, but from uneasiness and from covetousness.

133 It will not be fruitless to have thus located, in the perspective of orthodoxy, that is to say, the total sum of authenticity up to here -- since our only accessible historical sources are Arabic -- the Seksawa country. It opens up, as the last impasse on the left side, to the one that reaches the Sous from Marrakech. Previously the valleys of the Nffis and of the asif el-Mâl similarly
485 opened up. Immediately afterward, having scaled the threshold of
794 Imintanout (900 meters), our traveler will be able to rest in a
621 bourg with weekly sermons, that is, in a madina. He will
000 savor there the auxiliaries of prayer, which are the steam room and the intercourse of pious people. Simultaneously he will

/31 cont./

342 184 house with asqqif appears in a. Musa, where it constitutes about a third of the types. In the high valley it is general. The opening of all the verandas gives the same orientation. There is nothing more strking than these storied and architectured villages, with long parallel bays piercing the façade: Fensu appears so to one who descends from Uzaga.

All that is black and sad. It is built in schistose stone, with longitudinal fractures, with glossy planes, and joined with slimy mud. The roof, whose flaky composition has been described by R. Montagne for the Aghbar, J. Dresch for the Tubkal, is basically only soil. It makes a causeway. The houses, accumulating in a joined system where each new autonomous participant lives in its own stock of rooms, willingly arrange themselves in quarters, separated by lanes or tunnels. A good example of the genre at Igerssaffen, where the mule track following the valley has to borrow a covered passage.

621

355 414 These dwellings are locked well. The doors, conforming to the Homeric type, do not turn on hinges fitted into a firm upright: but their axis, itself mobile, turns in sockets. It is from within that the lock functions. System with a complicated fingering, consisting of wooden or iron pins. A hole for the hand permits opening from the outside. Without wishing to make a comparison, one might recall this anecdote of the Apulian African on the misadventure of a thief: he stuck in his hand, but an old woman, lying in wait behind the door, shoved an awl in his wrist in such a way that, in order not to be caught, he was obliged to cut off his arm.

[171]

The Bourgs

361 The form of the habitat is that of the "hamlet," imud'a, with the houses joined together, opposing to the external menace a perimeter without a break. The agglomeration is sometimes important: thus, the /32/ a. Mh'nd (600 inhabitants). It may also consist of only an "écart" /separate part/ of two or three houses. Thus at Ighilan, facing Buteghradin: a large portion of slope is occupied by a serics of small quarters, each gathered together

/32 cont./

361 apart from the others. Naturally, the preoccupations of defense have prevailed over the conveniences. Even over that of the water supply. Amsgerdat is perched on the summit of an improbable cliff. Elsewhere, as at Tasselli, the prehistoric formula called "l'éperon barré" /barred or pronged buttress or spur/ survives. But strategy alone has not conditioned the installation. Sometimes even it is neglected. A bourg like Tuz'z'umt spreads out without fear. And, almost everywhere, it is the hill on the bank of the river, the first ressaut of the surface, and not the escarpment, that is chosen in order to build. Even more than security, people seek publicity. The citizen requires a situation from
621 where he embraces the perimeter of the cultivations and can fol-
361 low the movements of each. Woe to the man alone: he is a wicked person. Everything in this rural life has to take place in the open, to face debate. Two important organs of the village satisfy this preoccupation: the site for the celebration of certain rites, az'allo, and the one where the threshing floors are crowded together: inraren. Important bourgs also have their forum, the site of gatherings and dances; this is the asaɬs or asarag. In contrast, there is never found, save in the rarest exception, the isolated house, the villa patriarchally surrounded by its property, which is established at the limit of the H'ăh'a and the Mtugga.

The Chleuh /Shluh/ does not distinguish the hamlet from the bourg already almost urban. He always uses the word imud'a, "locality," exotic Arabic contribution, with a quite suspect vague-
621 ness. As a general rule, there is no coincidence between the po-
634 litical unit, the taqbilt, and the unit of agglomerated habitat.
613 (In our sector, one finds only one isolated case of it, that of the a. Mh'nd.) Nor with the social unit, the ikhs. Nevertheless it sometimes happens that elements of all of an ikhs live apart, or more frequently that the village is split into quarters, as at T'abya. But what counts is rather the indifference of the habitat with regard to the social structures and to the agrarian order. The entanglements of the ikhs-s among hamlets of the same canton, and of their lands in the different quarters, without any correspondence with the divisions of the habitat other than this very complexity, is indeed rather the rule.

/32 cont./

634 Nevertheless, the agglomeration as such can assume signifi-
613 cance: this is when the excessive proportions of the taqbilt splinter its ikhs-s into fragments, which will lead a life more and more independent in each of the villages where they are settled, /33/ combined with other elements. So for the division of the Iseqqalen among several villages of the Idma country. It is true
• 621 that this dispersion does not go very far. Nevertheless there
794 exists a village solidarity, the most complete sign of which is that of the existence of a timezgida: place of worship, if one wishes, not only of an orthodoxy with a singular flavor, but also
794 a municipal circle. The timezgida unit is the one which, with
162 very rare anomalies, might be the best to give information on
634 the average quota of agglomerations in the different cantons. Thus in a. H'adduyws, 21 mosques give an average of 125 inhabitants grouped together. Even this result is appreciably twisted by the existence of two bourgs, Tasa and Fensu, with 300 to 400 inhabitants each. At Idma, 13 agglomerations, one a bourg of nearly 500 inhabitants, Usikis; the average is 160 inhabitants. The only bourg of the a. Mh'nd has some 600 inhabitants: but this is, for it alone, one taqbilt. The Imt'ddan and the a. Musa do not reach 100 inhabitants agglomerated together on the average. In general fashion, as one sees, these units are very small. The problems of structure that this poses will be taken up again. For the moment let us consider two impressions that can draw some vividness from a comparison with other milieus.

342 An invincible association of ideas links for us the notion of
333 architecture in stone to that of duration, and also of magnificence (1).

1. Cf. reflections of Vidal de La Blache, Principes de géographie humaine /Principles of human geography/, 1922, on architecture of earth (adobe), p. 150, and of stone, pp. 150 and 154 sq. He sees in the connection of cultivation on terraces and architecture in stone an essentially Mediterranean matter (p. 156).

/33 cont./

342 There is nothing of that here. All the stone circumvallations
333 that defend the tiers of cultivation are subject to incessant revision. In the house, on the other hand, there was nothing about
[184] the schistose slabs arranged in straight lines that looked like a
[554] lord. The latter, farther to the S., inhabited his qaçba /casbah/
[712] of pisé. In this part of Morocco, the palace is of mud, and the shanty of stone. There is nothing more disconcerting for us than
166 the facility with which the montagnard abandons the hovel,
342 taking away only the woodwork, and sets about building elsewhere. Hence so many scattered ruins: such old villages, with their banquettes and their walls, are abandoned. For which there are several reasons, one of which doubtlessly is moral: horror of the ruins, to which avenging forces are attached, and the other economic: this immense debauch of man power, which by its realizations, sometimes masterly, but irregular, dispenses the human action of perseverance.

• 621 Another idea to revise, the one that we often have of a habitat so fragmented. For the European geographer, this would be the /34/ sign of an anarchial particularism, of a failure of social structures. Now here it is just the opposite. Nothing is more closely united than these ensembles of écarts /separate parts/ or hamlets, lmud'a, flung into the valley as if by chance, and obeying only the exigencies of a capricious strategy or of mood. The Chleuh /Shluh/ city is broken up into small bits, but it is a city. It is crumbled throughout the canton. The fact is that, through the combined effect of an inhospitable milieu and the energy of the men, immense stretches of savage nature, of parks and gardens are maintained between the blocks of houses.

The Family, Viewed from the Outside

592 "What one finds, in these mountains, is the family stock in
184 accordance with The Play. The individual person is absorbed
616 into it, under the patriarchal authority of the senior one. From village to village, these little social and political foyers confront one another in two leagues, to the measure of the whole extent of the provinces."

/63 cont./

166 ancestry. It is to exist together, when one has come from so far,
829 when one would have so many reasons not to be here. Style, one might say, is in the success of the adjustment, in its difficulty, sometimes even in its singularity. One does not pose as the handsome son from the Orient, but rather as the crafty little bastard who fits in his proper place.

166 There is a nuance whose analysis is difficult to push further
829 for the moment, under penalty of twisting it. But it /64/ thrusts
182 itself upon anyone who enters, with the montagnard, into this discussion on unity in the multiplicity of origins, which is the preoccupation, the pride, and the science of the citizen. Let us take care: one feels here, once again since the beginning of this investigation, the action of a synthesis that, in general, is not that of kinship, even fictive, but something more immediate, at the same time more subtle. The frequent contradiction between the name of the taqbilt and the diversity of provenances offers the best beginning for the problem.

First Case

634 /In the original source the following paragraph is printed in
613 small type./ Here is, for example, the a. H'adduyws. A
621 striking contradiction: the eponym is a historic personage whose
173 lineage has been affirmed for seven centuries in the oral tradi-
619 tion. But they split themselves up as follows:

[Ait H'adduyws]

/64 cont./

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Primary division of the taqbilt into "thirds," ththelth	Subdivision of the "thirds" into sub-groups or "great ikhs-s"	Habitat by villages	Legendary origins
1) a. Wasif, "those of the valley."	a. Chaïb.	Uzaga, Igersafen, Tasa, a. Bah'ammo, Targa Ufella.	Immigrated from the Sous, leaving from a center of dispersion which would have been Talat n-a. Tunert, village presently in ruins. [166]
2) a. H'adduyws, properly speaking, likewise called a. Tasa.	a. Lbaz and a. Ggahi.	Tasa and Fensu.	Came from the Idaw Semlal. Have a branch in Sekrat. There is another ikhs I. Semlal at Ikis (a. H'ammo). To these two subgroups have been agglomerated other ikhs, some of whom are reputed to come from afar: the a. Waffuf (Nfifa); the a. Rrais, the Imzilen (Chyad'ma). Note the name of the a. Lhint, a name which is found again in Demsira, and where it is necessary to give up finding the Hintata, since, locally, they are interpreted as: People of "steel," lhint. [166]

/See p. 89 for the rest of the chart./

[Ait H'adduyws]

/64 cont./

3) Idaw Geryun (in reality autonomous taqbilt).	a. D'alh'a.	Tinerghat, Rektwasif, Uzaga, Wawensawt.	Descendants of the eponym, the only ones to claim the ancestry.	619 634 632 613 621 173 [166]
	a. Messedut.	Alus.	Came from Sidi Mh'and u Ghâzi, near Taroudant.	
	a. Buzid.	Rektwasif.	Came from the Idaw Zeddut.	

/65/

Integrated into the preceding	Different branches	Habitat by villages	Legendary origins	
Residual populations	Ikessan.	a. Bah'ammo.		
	a. Ish'aq.	Fensu.	Ikhs-s of the Idukkalen and of the a. Umetjar.	
	a. H'oggwa.	Mtili.	Reputed to have come from the H'mer. But their name is that of a great "league" of the Sous.	[166]
	Iqorran.	Ighelmellen.	Unknown origin, first occupants chased out by the I. Geryun.	
	a. Sâid u Buzid.	Ikis.	Unknown origin.	
	Igurramen.	Imi n-wasif.	"Marabouts" of Mtugga origin.	[792] [166]

[Ait Abdella]

/65 cont./

Second Case

634 619 /In the original source the following two paragraphs are printed in small type./ The one of the a. Abdella (1).

[195] 1. I thus note, very approximately, the local pronunciation of the name of this group, which differs appreciably from that of the name of an individual, Abdelà, corresponding to ar. /Arabic/ ᶜAbd Allah.

of the lower valley. Their name calls to mind that of a famous [167] agellid of the fourteenth century. But, by the same contradiction turned up in a. H'adduyws, the avowed origin of the different ikhs-s is not even attributed to the Seksawa stock. The thing is complicated here by an instability of habitat and by an uncertainty peculiar to these marginal populations. Invasions, infiltrations, conquests, revolts, submission to the power of the plain, [175] in brief, destruction internally or externally, were repeated all during the past. Legend, confirmed by the old land titles, has it 173 that the a. Abdella succeeded the former Demsira occupants here. 634 During a period that we shall try to determine, the latter, spread 619 out well beyond their present sector, held the lower valley of the Seksawa, up to Bulᶜwân exclusively, and that of the asif n-a. Lh'sen. To the E. they went up to Taddert of the Dwiran.

619 634 In the case of the a. Abdella, whose whole history indicates [178] vulnerability and who, upon contact with the plain, already lost many of their old characteristics, the taqbilt is not divided into • 621 subdivisions like the "thirds" of the a. H'adduyws. Here, it is the village that plays the role of political unit -- which the [613] mountain denies it. In each village ikhs-s abound, each of which has its legend of origin.

[Ait Abdella]
[Ibubanen]

619 /66 cont./
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Tuz'z'umt	Ih'ançalen, "marabouts" of Ah'ançal (Moyen Atlas). a. Lqaid, subgroup including: a. Lamghba, a. Bella u H'fid', a. bu Tefsut, a. Lh'sen u Ali, a. Bihi u H'fid, a. Chcheikh H'med, all having originated from the Sous like the a. Si Mh'and of Bulᶜwân. a. Wanz'id' (high a. Lh'sen, descendants of Sidi Musa). a. Buhadi (Iberhan, Demsira). a. Mançur (Dwiran). a. Burjal (Dwiran).
Agawz	a. Buâbila (same origin as the a. Lqaid). a. Lqçir (same origin as the a. Lqaid). a. Sâid u Mh'and (same origin as the a. Lqaid). a. Lihran (same origin as the a. Lqaid).
Tiburin, Imi n-tghli	Regraga "marabouts." Ih'naychen (Dwiran). a. Kawsir (Dwiran). a. Jâa (Dwiran). a. H'med (Dwiran). a. Moh'ammed (Dwiran). a. Si Brik Wakrim (Dwiran). a. u Nd'd'am (Dwiran).

619 /67/ Third Case
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[101] /In the original source the following five paragraphs are printed in small type./ The third case will be that of a disinherited aggregate, the Ibubanen, plur. of Abuban, fem.: Tabubant (in the Arab documents, form: al-Bubânî), occupants of
[312] high declivities between the Amudder and the Ameznir. A country mutilated on all sides by its neighbors, without permanent
[142] streams, and almost without wells or springs. Their physical type
[181] from the very first contrasts with the unconstrained demeanor, the

[Idma]

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[166] /75 cont./
the end of the fifteenth century (3).

3. The Fawâ'id, Justinard tr., 1953, p. 56, register a sheik, Mûsâ at-Tudmâwî, who left the Sous to settle in the Daran. He died in 1003 Heg.: 1595.

[776] The saint of Assttif precedes by six other /76/ generations another Idma saint, from a collateral lineage, Sidi Lh'sen u Bubker of Ad'erd'ur, specialist in the expulsion of spirits. With him, we are at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

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619 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Let us stop for a moment at the site of these two villages of Usikis and Ad'erd'ur, first settlement of the Idma. Usikis was their first stop, from which they progressively spread out. Its dignity is still eminent. It was almost always in this village that the chiefs were recruited. Their designation was brought about in comitia at Inraren Z'dinin, and the college broke up only at Usikis, on the rock called Taunt n-Fad'ma H'ssayn, after the invocation of the saint of Ammern. The village is built in latitudes of a cruel desolation. Everywhere massive escarpments of black schist hang over it. Several clusters of houses, stuck on a puny esplanade, dominate the almost vertical drop of a prodigious staircase of fields. This spurt of human will surges [103] forth in a general aridity, which crushes it everywhere and which the toponyms themselves express: thus near the village there is a "field of hunger," bur n-lâz', just as a little higher there is a "source of hunger," talâint n-jjuᶜ, or a "field of the Jew," iger n-bhenkuk. These derisive appellations aim at conjuring up [621] misery. But, visibly, only the tension of the group succeeds in maintaining life. It is expressed by the connivance of the saints and by a folkloric richness indicating a strong context of rite and legends. It is also expressed in rural order, in municipal quarreling, and in military expansion.

[Idma]

/77 cont./

173 It was a good thing that they did. The woman who had saved
721 them is not identifiable: perhaps it was Lalla Aziza. For the
619 saints conspired in this war of feints and plunder. The scene of broken hospitality is frequent in the past of the mountains. Its color, its cruelty evoke the oldest Mediterranean mythology.

The struggles against the ait Gasa continued throughout the eighteenth century. It was starting from 1214 Heg. = 1798 that
[175] their elimination was accomplished. That was the time of the
[423] great landed-property transfers. Z'init' was freed, the valley occupied first by conquest, then by purchases, according to the classic procedure. Below what the geologists call "the capture of Agersili," another important bourg henceforth enters into Idma history: Wanchkrir.

361 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ This village is arranged in two superposed masses. The one below, on a rocky peak, bears, with the habitations, the ruins of a fort attributed to the a. Gasa. The one above, from which is separated the block of the château of a contemporary great chief.

621 The population is a veritable rabble. Here is how it is split
613 up, ikhs by ikhs.
619

Name of ikhs	Legendary origin	Comments
621 a. Ikru, "those of the kid."	Contemporaries of the a. Gasa, but came very anciently from Tafrawt of the Anti-Atlas.	Have the agricultural initium.
619 613 193 a. bu Idder.	Came from Iger n-Tiqqi (a. Gêir).	
a. u Baggo.	Came from Anzammer (Mtugga).	
a. bu Bah'li.	Vestige of the a. Gasa.	
a. Uchchen.	—	
a. Khunch.	Idma, came from Tasselli. I-	These are the only two conquering branches.
a. Wakrim.	seqqalen from Usikis.	

[Ait Lh'sen]

/86 cont./ A
It$_A$ is divided as follows:

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Traditional ancestor	Subgroups	Ikhs	Villages
		a. Sâid.	Awines, Ighilan, Butaghradin.
		a. u Chelh'.	Agadir.
		a. Naçer.	—
		a. Amer.	Awines.
	a. Mençur.	a. Bnniya.	Iwulla, Tug u Lkheyr.
		a. Mulid.	Iwulla.
		Ikhwawn.	Iwulla, Wanzid'.
Musa.		a. Mh'and u Bujmâ.	Tabradjut.
		a. Lechger.	Tamesdakht.
		a. u Zarra.	—
	a. Daud.	a. u Mâli.	Awines.
		a. u Sus.	Awines.
		a. H'ammô Ali.	Agadir, Ighilan.
		u. H'ammô.	Ighilan.
		a. u Addam.	—
		a. Skiwt.	—

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[172]

/87/ The a. Lh'sen conquest takes place in several phases. First, they occupy an agadir, the ruins of which still exist in a. Mh'nd. Then, they invade the high canton of Iwulla, separated from the Idaw Mh'mud by a ridge of 3,000 meters. They complete this occupation by that of Wanz'id'. All snatched from the Demsira. The legend renders well the epic cruelty of these struggles.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ At this time the a. Lh'sen were occupying only Iwulla. One of them had married a Demsira woman from Wanz'id'. His father-in-law asked him for several beams in order to construct a terrace. His son-in-law carried them to him up to the col that separates the Iwulla from Wanz'id'; the Demsira man then proclaimed that his demand only had the aim of humiliating an a. Lh'sen. The son-in-law said nothing, but called for a general invitation of the Demsira to Iwulla, a tiwilt, "banquet-palaver."

A$_A$ [i.e., the Ait Lh'sen--Analyst]

/113 cont./

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Practice of the agg^{w}mi, "pasture in defense"

Name of the taqbilt	Name of the village	Place of pasture	Duration of the placing in defense	Comments
I. Geryun.	The ensemble.	Tichka (also called Tuchka).	From snowfall to a yulyuz date conventional among tribes.	International pasture.
a. H'ad-duyws.	Tasa.	Amerdul.	March-July.	Custom of the talddrar.
	Fensu.	Aziwal.	--	
Iguntar.	The ensemble.	Talburt n-H'sayn.	--	
a. Lh'sen.				
a. Mh'nd.				
Idma.	Asikis.	Agersili.	--	Custom of the talddrar.
Imt'ddan.	Ad'erd'ur.	Tasila.	--	
	Anchkrir.	Inraren Z'dinin.	--	
	Tasselli.	Tameksut.	--	
	The ensemble.	Afuzar.	--	

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[634]

This short-term transhumance, where one does not leave the limits of the canton, is a sort of amplifying commentary on the valley-bottom life. It takes place at the end of the summer and lasts as long as possible: until the rain and frost are heaviest. In a general fashion only the shepherds take part in it. But the proximity of the village makes the visits of the master frequent.

/123 cont./

241 [312] water. Certainly the torrential descent will carry away the pebbles, demolish the walls, bear off the seeds: but sometimes, too, it respects them. In any case, it wets the soil and deposits silt. A risk to run...

Third type: the dry agriculture, on high brows of hills or forest clearings. It is an important complement of the hydraulics. /124/ But we are too poorly informed on the altitude pluviometry to analyze the conditions precisely. The grain-lands always exceed the mark of 2,000 meters in the Tasila and the Azuran. Rye and barley reach good yields there. That explains why the competition for the usufruct of these lands is lively. And why it is honorable. It is a competition between communes and between notables rather than between fellow citizens. The distance is a prize for the rich and for the bold. The only one of his ikhs, such and such an individual launches upon valorizations or clearings, which he will support, of course, with titles. Nevertheless the servitude of a community vocation remains keen enough to impose allotment in certain cases. If some of these grounds, like the Tasila, have been very much appropriated, others, like the Azuran of the Imt'ddan, suggest very closely the custom of distribution among ikhs-s. The vocation of each of these is still clearly affirmed, for example, in the albur of the a. M'hnd.

243 423 613 [621]

241 423 Elsewhere, and about wherever the forest domain rules, the vivification by clearing or by removing stones will often be invoked as the source of right: the litigant has recourse in this case to the Arabic verb t'uww^{c}, and then a Mussulman principle, that of "vivification," in fact works for him. But to what extent is it an old institution? It is difficult to specify it. Perhaps one will find more authenticity and, at the least, originality in the customs governing certain plains of the Dir, on both sides of Imintanout. When the season arrives, a race to the tillage is organized. The first one who marks the furrow has the enjoyment of it for the year. In Seksawa, although it nowhere functions in the manner thus avowed, this practice is implied in everything that arises out of the notion of "communal" muchū^{c}.

[Imt'ddan]

/210 cont./

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Original ikhs-s	Present "minor ikhs-s"	Habitat
a. Naçer.	a. Uferyad'.	Tamt'ddit.
	a. Uchikar.	Tagunit.
	a. Warrh'u.	Tamt'ddit.
	a. Batirat.	Tagunit.
	a. Mulid.	Tamt'ddit.
	a. Bihi.	Tamt'ddit.
a. Lâgid.	a. Chchku.	Tagunit.
	a. H'imi.	Tagunit.
	a. H'mad u-Mh'mmed.	Tamt'ddit.
a. Lyazid.	a. Ukraray.	Tinwalin, Tamzgurt.
	a. Uâzzi.	Tamt'ddit.
	a. Jamid.	Tinwalin.
	a. Uturit.	Tinwalin.
a. Uqejjaj.	a. Âli u Âli.	Tamzgurt.
	a. Sâid.	Tamzgurt.
	a. Ufarnu.	Tagunit.
	a. Uqurru.	Tagunit.
a. Lchger.	a. Ubaqqa.	Tagunit.
	a. Uburnarth.	Tagunit.

[Imt'ddan]
[Bulᶜwân]

613 /211/ Undoubtedly one observes a certain differentiation be-
• 621 tween Tinwalin and Tamezgurt, on one hand, the two other villages of the tetrapolis, Tagunit and Tamt'ddit, on the other. But, with this exception, each subgroup is well represented in the different grounds of the canton.

423 This characteristic appeared clearly on the occasion of pro-
691 ceedings which in 1951 set the Imt'ddan against one another concerning a vast albur utilized half-pasturage, half-tillage, on the E. counterfort of the Tamjlucht. A judiciary transfer was made at the summit of the Azuran. The titles were contradictory; leases, sales had come into play. And, even more, irregularities of an ownership which always accrued to the strongest, but without annulling the right of the weakest. In fact, within this ground, three families, profiting from their preponderance, disputed a quarter favorable for rye called Uz'z'igat (1,900 meters). The summit is not far from it. From there, the view plunges, to the E., over the Kattos, the Wafagga; to the W. and to the S., over a landscape with magnificent folds, closed by the barrier of the Afuzar and, in the background, by the Atlasic crest. This high plateau, all around the crop terrain, is studded with idughas, [692] "summer shelters." The jemâa deliberates. An agreement is [634] finally concluded. The Uz'z'igat is to be allotted among the 19 [613] ikhs-s resulting from the fractioning of the first Imt'ddan families. A brief dispute had tended to exclude the branches with the most [634] eccentric habitat, such as those of Tinwalin. But, instructively, the taqbilt solidarity and the landed-property vocation that it implies will outweigh the dispersion of habitat and the decay of the bond. It could not be otherwise. Analogous solidarity prevails elsewhere, as has been seen, in a matter as favorable to privative appropriation as the harvest of almonds.

G) Bulᶜwân, estuary of the montagnard system

133 The Tagoyyamt ford (740 meters), where the traditional
361 route from the Dir crosses the Oued Seksawa, here called Lwâd n-Qihra, or Asifl-lqîhra, leaves a village on the right, Bulᶜwân, the colony of which, Taqennurt, situated not far away, on the

/369 cont./

Pecuniary Composition and Penal Law

613 619 634 121 Is the group resolved in the ensemble of the ikhs-s? Traits of discordance in the modern evolution of these two notions lead one to pose this difficult problem. And the evolution, which is above all expressed in an unequal reaction to the Arabic writing, has doubtlessly only accentuated more ancient discordances about which one is reduced to hypotheses. Very certainly, however, the Chleuh /Shluh/ taqbilt is adult before these influences exert themselves. What are the relations between the group and its agnatic 681 subdivisions here? Especially in the matter of repressive law, what is the part of the private pecuniary compensation: and of the /370/ sanction of public order? All that we can say, if we wish to avoid appealing to a suspect scheme of evolution: retaliation, then compensation, then fine, -- is that at the period to which the first written sources go back there are both decreed punishment and tariffed composition.

613 178 But another verification can put us on the track. The ancient state did not disclose any elements of the problem other than those of today. The debate already dealt with the interaction of the commune on the one hand, persons on the other. An acquisitive individualism, the constant rupture of the "patriarchal" society into irascible co-operators, indeed into foyers hiving off or into economic rivals, undoubtedly tempers from this time the gentilitial primacy. From the contentious plane they suppress it in the penumbra of old solidarities, tenacious undoubtedly, but which no longer crop out in disputes. Moreover, the phases of personal power, of which the twentieth century offered a perfectly observable cycle, certainly had to be adjusted, and not without collisions and uneasiness, to the former structure. If it is noteworthy that 592 the distribution of the habitat by villages, lmud'ā, does not cor- [621] respond to anything in the communal institution, and that the unit [634] is always the taqbilt, without prejudice to the sometimes quite [613] mixed distribution of the ikhs-s into villages, it may be noted in an inverse sense that no authority of ancestors comes to restrict the citizenship of the head of foyer. It is indeed the "foyer," takat

/40 cont./

361 712 184 [343] At other times too, in the richer regions -- at the bottom of the more fertile basins that appear here and there in the Anti-Atlas -- groups of hamlets are established around the collective storehouses, inside which each home keeps its provisions. The very mass of the houses then forms, around these granaries, a natural defense.

Finally, near the summits, the big villages, almost unknown on the slopes of the Atlas, reappear at the head of ravines in the vicinity of plateaus favorable for the life of the flocks. Such are, for example, Tassa of the Aït Haddiyous, and Tasgint of the Ida ou Mahmoud, near the Tichka, or Amasin of the Ikhozamen, near the peaks of the Sirwa. These agglomeration of one to two hundred hearths, often dominated by large storehouses with the look of fortresses, are moreover in reality only winter villages situated at more than 2,000 meters in altitude. Everyone comes [243] to take shelter there when the first snows fall; but during the fine season the inhabitants scatter in groups of a few families in the midst of the pastures of the summits and here and there cultivate poor fields of rye and barley around enclosures of dry stone that serve them as houses.

/41/ Most of these Berbère agglomerations -- small cities with village-like appearance, valley hamlets, winter villages of the summits -- present a common double characteristic. They are almost always established near streams, because human life in the south of Morocco is closely bound up with the utilization of springs and séguias. They only exceptionally occupy natural defensive emplacements on the summit of peaks in the manner of the villages of the Kabylia of the Djurjura /Djurdjura/.

• 621 592 If one observes attentively the exterior aspect of these various groupings, small towns or villages, one perceives the importance that the hamlet inhabited by a patriarchal group of ten to twenty hearths nearly always assumes. Every detached house tends to develop, if the family that occupies it succeeds in prospering, so as to form, by the juxtaposition of separate chambers constructed by the sons and relatives by marriage, an association strong enough to ensure its own defense and exploit its lands in

/41 cont./

621 592 security. Likewise, a big village is only the union of several hamlets. Each of them belongs to a separate family group, and it often suffices, in order to know the number of these small elementary social units that constitute a little Berbère republic, to count on the spot the number of separate quarters (1).

361 712 1. In the vicinity of the desert in the oases of the Noun /Nun/ and the Bani, in the middle Dra and the Dadès, it is common to observe the existence of large qsars /fortified places/, whose houses draw nearer and mutually protect one another. Often, even, the village is surrounded by a rampart; here the proximity of the nomads, the division of the population into haraten /Haratin/ agriculturalists and Arab or Berbère /Berber/ pastoralists -- who often play the role of protectors -- modify considerably the conditions of existence that we have observed in the interior of the province of the Sous.

[162]

361 712 341 184 342 The urban character of the construction of the qsars has often been noted. It even seems that there exist in the Dra and the Dadès a particular architectural tradition and a technique more skillful and perfected than in all the Moroccan South. It is doubtless to the artistic influence of the Dra that is owed the beautiful "tighremt" /fortified houses/ found at Telwet and among the Imeghran.

The most famous builders of these "tighremt" as well as of the lordly casbahs of the Atlas come from the tribe of the Aït Bou Yahya, north of Tisint.

342 184 VII. The house. -- There does not exist, it is scarcely necessary to say here, a "Berbère /Berber/ house" of uniform type, whose disposition might be contrasted to that of the "Arab house." The plan, the construction, the arrangement of the dwelling of the Sous agriculturalist differ according to whether it is detached

184 342 [574] /42 cont./ household. A little apart from the other rooms often rises a small, second-story chamber, the "tamesrit," where one receives guests, who have access to it from the outside.

The mountain houses are more modest. They are made of small, separate units to which one has access from the outside. They are constructed in stone, walled up with a little clay; their terraces are of earth and edged with heavy, flat stones. [231] Each of them has a second story, raised so little that one stands up with difficulty; the goats and sheep live below; the upper part is reserved for provisions and the habitation of people. /43/ The entrance doors are light and fragile, for one need not fear foreign thieves. A large, square room, without stories, covered by a terrace, in the center of which is arranged a wide opening, serves as kitchen and gynaeceum. All around stretch the threshing floors bordered by dressed stones. To avoid the cold and humidity, only tiny windows are pierced in the walls; in the regions disturbed by war, these openings take on the look of loopholes, and care is taken to arrange them in such a way that the inhabitants could not be hit by a bullet fired from outside. Finally, on the terraces, galleries closed by lattices of branches of pink laurel permit living in the open air, sheltered from the nearly vertical rays of the sun.

[361] These poor houses of the high valleys, all alike, tiered on a slope, often resemble the cells of a wasp's nest.

• 621 511 512 [354] [521] [251] [233] [857] [462] Sad in the rain and snow, when the inhabitants shiver in the vermin and the clouds linger on the flank of the mountains, these little hamlets become lively in the sun. In the brightened sky the fumes rise through the gaping openings of the kitchens; the men get together under the galleries to chat; the golden bunches of maize and the scarlet peppers dry on the terraces. The flocks leave the enclosures, guided by the children, while the women, who climb toward the forest in order to look for their heavy loads of dead wood, courageously forget their miserable existence and send out into the light the shrill note of their singing.

/43 cont./

621 613 VIII. The family. -- Each separate hamlet, or each part of a village, is inhabited, as we have seen, by a patriarchal and agnatic familial group to which in the Sous is given the name of "ikhs." This is the smallest unit, but also the most lively, which contributes toward forming the larger social groups in Berbère /Berber/ country.

621 592 613 [595] The "ikhs" is constituted spontaneously by the natural development of the family that lives in a detached house. Actually the Chleuh /Shluh/, almost always monogamous, especially if he is poor, lives with his sons in joint possession; his cousins are established near him. Foreigners who have come into the country as wage earners or tribal brothers marry the daughters. In three [622] or four generations /44/ a numerous and powerful group is formed, often led by an old man who is the natural leader of this new hamlet.

613 561 562 The various members of the "ikhs" are not gathered together in the course of daily existence. Each generation actually lives apart from the one that precedes it or that follows it; father and son do not take their meals together, at least in public. The men and the women, moreover, form two distinct societies, which have traditions, beliefs, a different vocabulary. The men try to [771] observe the laws of Islam; the women, on the contrary, remain attached to magical practices that are a survival of the most ancient beliefs. Even the markets are sometimes separate (1).

562 443

1. Special markets for women exist in the region of the Haha and the plain of the Chtouka.

562 [788] [543] [527] [831] Finally, during pilgrimages and annual fairs the two sexes often assemble separately. The women's festivals, on the occasion of which are found preserved licentious traditions antecedent to Islam, accentuate even more the separate organization of the two groups.

/138 cont./

114 *63 *634 Thus we see the same diversity of institutions that the western Atlas presents to us attested to in the eastern part of the Sous region by the most scrupulous of the observers of the South of Morocco; only the violent conquest of the Glawa masks in our day, with jealous care, the recent ruin. Otherwise it would suffice for us to cross, in the footsteps of Foucauld, the central Anti-Atlas in order to find again behind the fragile organization of the Makhzen /makhzan/, in a decline that is not definitive, the double institution of amghars and assemblies.

*631 *634 VI. The dissident Anti-Atlas. -- Finally it remains for us, in order to complete this general view of the Berbère /Berber/ institutions of the South, to indicate the relations of the subject regions of the Sous plain with the part of the western Anti-Atlas that up to now has remained hostile to our penetration. In all the [619] [178] mountains of the Kest, the tribes of the Ida Ou Gnidif, of the Ammeln, of the Ida Oultit have preserved their secular traditions with distrustful fidelity. Each /139/ family settles as it pleases • [621] in a closed hamlet that forms a small elementary unit; all the common affairs of the villages that form a canton are dealt with in council; no amghar, no moqaddem even ventures to rise above the assembly and openly direct the discussions. Small egalitarian republics, which most often live in isolation, are thus constituted everywhere. The only authority capable of uniting for an instant 175 this dust of little states into a powerful federation is that of the *631 marabouts. At the beginning of the last century, one saw Sidi 792 Hachem of the Tazerwalt try to reconstitute at Illigh, by means of the weakness of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the little kingdom of his ancestors, the sons of Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa. But the only title that the Berbères /Berbers/ then consented to give him was that of "amghar n Igezzoulen," amghar of the Gezzoula. His tribal representatives, who also had the title of "amghar," carefully guarded against openly violating custom: they only tried to slant the assemblies' decisions in a direction favorable to the interests of their master of Illigh, and often limited themselves by a prudent policy of not compromising the prestige of their temporal and religious leader.

/147 cont./

121 transformed /148/ in our day by the Makhzen, the old men who
124 have lived the life of yore, will be our surest guides; better than the servants of the kaids, who know above all the divisions established in the tribes with a view to facilitating the assessment of taxes, they will be able to help us discover the social structure of the Berbère /Berber/ country.

121 Rapid inquiry permits seeing, as a matter of fact, that the
131 boundaries of the great commands do not correspond in any way
*631 to natural divisions; these frontiers usually follow the traditional boundaries of the tribes, but since they have been fixed by conquest, it also happens that they share in an arbitrary manner a territory formerly undivided; finally, in the very interior of regions placed under the authority of one of the powerful kaids of the mountains one observes the presence of small states, numerous and entangled, some superposed on others, whose long existence, attested to by local history, shows us past activity and
121 tenacious vitality. The same structural complexity also appears
*631 in the Berbère /Berber/ regions directly subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/ -- such as the country of the Haha, the plain of the Chtouka, as well as in all the rallied or dissident Anti-Atlas. It is these small units, which the often arbitrary organization of the command has not always respected, which merit holding all our attention here.

•621 The small groups out of which Berbère society is made up can
*634 be classed according to their degree of importance: the simplest
632 is the hamlet or village; the villages frequently combine to form the unit to which we customarily give the name of subfraction in
*631 our administrative terminology; several subfractions or some ten
619 villages constitute a small elementary state, which one generally designates by the term of fraction and to which we shall here give by preference the name of "canton"; a union of fractions, three or four, sometimes eight or ten, takes the name of tribe; a group of tribes or a considerable aggregate of fractions -- twenty or thirty -- that of confederation.

Although a confederation is divided into tribes, a tribe into fractions, a fraction into subfractions, and a subfraction into

/148 cont./

•621 *634 632 *631 619 villages and hamlets, the hierarchical organization of Berbère /Berber/ society does not present characteristics of absolute uniformity, which, moreover, would be irreconcilable with the variety of life. Thus, sometimes confederations do not exist, and tribes /149/ represent the largest groups; at other times, small units having the average dimensions of a "fraction" are found in the high mountains, independent and isolated; finally, it happens that big villages like those that develop at the beginning of high valleys have sufficient importance to form subfractions by themselves. These exceptions, moreover, mark with more force the individuality of the various groups whose nature we shall try to define here.

621 *634 632 *631 619 128 829 From now on it must be noted that the Berbères /Berbers/ scarcely know how to apply distinct names to these various organisms that the needs of our administrative policy oblige us to distinguish. They most often designate them by the vague term of "taqbilt" (1),

1. Berbère /Berber/ form of the Arabic "qbila," tribe. One will be able to note that the terms of the political vocabulary of the Berbères /Berbers/ of the Sous are nearly all Arabic: "taqbilt," "mouda^{c}," "jemaa," "moqaddem," etc.

The terms of subfraction, fraction, tribe, confederation exist only in our administrative terminology; we shall define each of these groups by its institutions. The term "fraction" is, as one will see, particularly inappropriate, since this little state -- whose name implies that it is the part of a whole, the tribe -- actually has more definite characteristics than the higher organism.

For this reason we shall often use here the term "canton" in preference to "fraction."

and in their minds these social groups that we are striving to separate in order to understand their nature better are simple

/149 cont./

621 subdivisions within large ethnic groups; so it suffices for them to
*634 define them by saying the name borne by the men who form
632 them: the "Ihahan" thus designate what we call the confedera-
*631 tion of the Haha; "Igedmiwon," the confederation of the Ged-
619 miwa, "Isouktan," the tribe of the Souktana, "Afifen," that of
128 the Nfifa, without ever using any name designating the social
829 organism that is a confederation or a tribe.

Very often the people who make up the States are regarded
*634 as the descendants of an eponymous ancestor, Aït Ou ᶜAzzoun,
613 Aït Zekri, Aït ᶜAtta (2).

2. Among the Ida Ou Tanan people show the tomb of Sidi Mehend Gouᶜazzoun, alleged ancestor of the 15 fractions of the Aït Ouᶜazzoun; among the Aït ᶜAtta, the tomb of Dadda ᶜAtta on the banks of the middle Dra.

whose tomb is sometimes in a known place. The terms Id, Ida,
[829] Inda, Ind, with which many units of varying importance are des-
[101] ignated -- Id Brahim -- Ida ou Kazzo, Inda Ouzal, Ind Ou Nadif,
seem to imply at the same time the idea of common descent and
[114] of grouping. This genealogical conception of Berbère /Berber/
society, whose value we have already questioned and which we
shall again have occasion to examine, /150/ can moreover ap-
pear to us only as a "prenotion."

121 For the moment we shall interest ourselves, in the region of
128 the high valleys of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, near the
summits of the Tichka, or on the plateaus of the Ida Ou Tanan
near the Atlantic, in studying in themselves the best preserved
and most lively social and political units. Resolutely setting
aside all explanations borrowed from popular tradition, we shall
strive to state precisely the nature of the various categories of
Berbère /Berber/ states by comparing their life and structure.
Then we shall establish in their hierarchy the order and precision
indispensable for permitting us to understand the nature of the

/150 cont./

121 local institutions before they were broken up by the advance of
128 the personal power of the chiefs and of the Makhzen /makhzan/. It will then be easy for us to extend our observations to the rest of the Sous region of our day, transformed by submission, as well as to the still-free mountains of the Anti-Atlas.

Finally, a rapid comparison with the country of the Jbala of the north of Morocco, the Rif, and the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura will permit perceiving the unity of social structure of the largest part of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/.

Doubtless it will sometimes happen in the course of this study of the social morphology that we shall simplify some aspects of the life of these little superposed organisms, in order to mark better the nature of the characteristics that permit them to be distinguished. Therefore one must be aware that the value of our classifications is only approximate and that we must often limit ourselves to defining "average types," while neglecting the individual forms that sometimes diverge from them somewhat because they have the variety inherent in all that lives, is born, grows, and disappears. Besides, people will not be surprised that our observations do not always enable us to explain the facts by clear and logical notions, which are unknown by the primitives. The bonds that connect a Berbère /Berber/ to his fraction, to his tribe, to his confederation call on representations that sometimes seem to us obscure or even contradictory; consequently the small states defined by these bonds will sometimes appear to us in indistinct aspects, very different from the ones whose nature we should like to describe by means of precise and positive characteristics.

•621 /151/ II. Hamlet, village, subfraction. -- The social units easiest to define are the smallest, and it is particularly easy to observe the life of the hamlet, village, and subfraction whose activity is limited to the circumstances of daily life.

[361] In all the mountains of the Masmouda, most of the inhabitants of the valleys live grouped in small hamlets of 20 to 30 hearths, constructed on the sunlit slopes or on a detached peak or a high rock, in a spot propitious for defense.

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621 rock, in a spot propitious for defense. Each hamlet, "tadchert" 613 (1),

1. "Tadchert," Berbère /Berber/ form of the Arabic "dechra," village.

is customarily peopled by two or three family groups, to which one gives the name of "Ikhs" (2).

2. "Ikhs," Berb., which has the etymological sense of bone. In Arabized country the family group is also designated by "ᶜadam" (same original meaning) or by "fekhda."

As we have seen, these are little patriarchal and agnatic units formed by the sons and grandsons of the same father, living more or less in joint possession, augmented often by contributions from outside.

It often happens, moreover, that each "ikhs" occupies a [103] separate group of houses. The hamlet sometimes takes the name of a locality or topographic accident: Assaka, the ford; Taourirt, the hill; Agerd, the brow of a hill; Achbarro, the sentinel post; Anammer, the sunlit slope. Often, too, the name of the family prevails over that of the place inhabited: Iᶜaisaten, the sons of ᶜAisa; Taḍurirt n Aït lHachmi, the hill of the sons of l'Hachmi; usually both names, that of the locality and that of the ethnic group, exist at the same time.

621 Three or four hamlets close together, or a big village, like 632 the ones that sometimes exist at the upper part of the wadis, near the rich pastures of the summits, generally form a unit to which in this region one often gives the name of "moudaᶜ" (3)

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3. From the Arabic "moudaᶜ," place. Doutté gives the name of "clan" to this group ("Organisation sociale et domestique

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/footnote 3 continued/ des Haha /Social and domestic organization of the Haha/," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905, Rens. coloniaux /Colonial information/, p. 9. Actually made up of several family groups ("ikhs") of diverse origins, the "mouda^{c}" has less importance and cohesion in the independent regions than the fraction.

One must bear in mind, in order to evaluate the observations made by Doutté in the north of the Haha, that the country described by him had long ago been transformed by the Makhzen /makhzan/.

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and which in our administrative terminology we call the subfraction. A "Friday mosque" in which passing strangers come to ask for hospitality, an "agadir" or collective storehouse, in the regions where this /152/ institution has been preserved, and especially the existence of a "jema^{c}a," assembly of all the men able to bear arms, such are the institutions of the "mouda^{c}."

The political activity of this little group is almost nil. In the independent tribes, the "mouda^{c}" most often is only an administrative division that permits dividing up local duties: turn at hospitality in order to feed strangers, turn at feeding the taleb, manure or tillage corvée, repair of séguias. Each "mouda^{c}" possesses, finally, in the vicinity of the hamlets, its grazing lands, its forest of brushwood, where people lay in supplies of wood for heating and which is cleared by fire when one wishes to take a chance on a harvest of barley on unirrigated lands. This is not a question of collective lands of the tribe, but rather of joint family-goods. A stranger to the "mouda^{c}" would not be able to settle there without permission, and when, in rainy years, these uncultivated lands are worth the trouble of being cleared and sown, one sees each family hurry to claim its part of them.

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174 leagues that gradually united all the Berbère /Berber/ republics
*631 in the same friendships and the same hatreds. These alliances
*634 were given the Arabic name of "leff" or the Chleuh /Shluh/
616 name of "amqon" (1).

1. From the Berbère /Berber/ qqen (to attach, to bind). Compare: Destaing, Vocabulaire français berbère /French-Berber Vocabulary/, I, p. 25 (eqqen, to harness), and de Foucauld, Dict. Touareg-fr. /Tuareg-French Dictionary/, II, p. 516.

*634 The small territorial groups that entered into these systems of
616 alliance in the high mountains were isolated "taqbilt" constituted
[632] in the form that we have already studied at length; nearer the Dir,
•[621] they were "khoms" or "rba^{c}," fractions of tribes having the same size as the "taqbilt" of the summits; as an exception, weaker units, "mouda^{c}" or subfractions, especially in the vicinity of the plains subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, made use of one or the other of the two leffs.

No precise rule permits one to explain a priori the mode of distribution of the two leffs.

By examining the map, drawn up after numerous investigations, one distinguishes, however, some general principles for the balance of the parties. It happens rarely, first of all, that a "taqbilt" would be entirely isolated from its allies, and the communications that it /186/ preserves with the other cantons seem to be established most often by way of the cols and the lines of crests. In the mountains two or three units belonging to the same
*634 alliance are frequently found side by side. On the contrary, the
616 big valleys or the roads that constitute natural routes of penetra-
491 tion are occupied by small opposed groups almost rigorously alter-
361 nated. The Aghbar, the Ogdemt, the Asif Nefis, the Asif el Mal, the road of the Tizi Ma^{c}cho offer particularly striking examples of these modes of distribution. Only the great mass of the Seksawa, which groups closely five cantons of the leff of the

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*634 121 First we shall try to describe the organization of these small states in the region of the western Atlas. This organization has doubtless been partially transformed for two generations by the development of personal power. But one can still, by studying the life of the fractions remaining free up to the present in the most remote valleys, find what was formerly the political life of a large part of the mountains of the Masmouda, to which it would not have been exaggerated to give, half a century ago, the name of Kabylie du Haut-Atlas /Kabylia of the High Atlas/. Next, by comparing this region with the best known parts of the Anti-Atlas and of the Rif, it will be easy to see once again the similarity that exists between the political traditions of the sedentary Berbères /Berbers/ of Morocco and those of their Kabyle brothers of Algeria.

*634 •621 632 /218/ I. The institutions of the "Mouda^{c}." -- The "taqbilt" of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ of the Masmouda is most often formed by a group of "mouda^{c}." The "mouda^{c}" joins together several hamlets; the hamlet, several families. Each of these small units has its traditions, its customs of life in common, and, one might say, its "political constitution."

613 The family, "Ikhs" (pl. ikhsan), as we have said, is a patriarchal and agnatic group, more or less undivided, which most often includes ten or fifteen hearths. It usually suffices, in order to find again the eponymous ancestor of the Ikhs, to go back three or four generations, for, as we have seen, the renewing of the population is rapid, even in the high valleys; very frequent epidemics, exile, the struggle of soffs suffice to disperse the most vigorous groups or limit their growth.

595 In each household a rigorous monogamy is observed; in the regions at present won over by the political transformation, one hardly sees even the sheiks who have become rich marry a second wife late in life. A saying of the Gedmiwa promises the [539] greatest misfortunes to those who bring a second wife into the household: "O you who have two wives, may the grasshoppers

595 /218 cont./
[539] eat your harvests (1)!"

1. Compare Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, Ida ou Zal, p. 18.

592 In each family -- stricto sensu -- the sons rarely leave their
father, even after their marriage. Each house most often shel-
[768] ters three or four households. After their father's death, custom
decrees that the brothers continue to live in joint possession as
613 long as possible. By new alliances within this primitive group,
the descendants of the same ancestor come to form a small
social unit, into which the outsider is admitted only after a long
stay (2).

[113] 2. Compare Laoust, "Le Mariage chez les Berbères du Maroc /Marriage among the Berbers of Morocco/," Arch. berbères, Vol. I, p. 76.

[554] This group does not always have the oldest one as head; often it is the richest and most influential one who speaks in the name of his "brothers" in the assemblies whenever the honor or interests of the "Ikhs" are involved.

62 Two or three "ikhs" customarily people a hamlet, "tad-
[613] chert," but it is not rare for one of them to be preponderant and
alone have the right to represent the common interests at the
assembly of the "taqbilt." Often in the regions neighboring the
[423] plains and above all in the Anti-Atlas the hamlet appears to us
/219/ as a small autonomous group smaller than the "mouda^{c}"
but which already possesses common property: manure, pasture
[351] lands, forest. A thick hedge of jujube trees dominated by a
watchtower protects against thieves. To ensure the safety of the
[625] inhabitants turns at guarding the gate are established, and there
is a night watch in the "borj" /watchtower/. The hamlet then
tends to organize its own life with respect to police, execution
of the corvées, repression of minor offenses, and thus it absorbs
part of the attributions of the "mouda^{c}."

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632 When the "mouda^{c}" made up of several hamlets is an active
621 social unit, as happens in most of the valleys of the Haut-Atlas
[592] /High Atlas/, the heads of all the households in the hamlets that constitute it deliberate jointly in order to regulate the details of life. But if, according to common practice, the assembly is open to all the men married for a year, only the respected
[554] [613] representatives of families, the heads of the "ikhs," make decisions in the name of all.

623 The meetings of the council of the "mouda^{c}," to which the
[346] name "jema^{c}t" is often given, are customarily held in the Friday mosque, which is the central institution, and perhaps this social
[212] group's reason for being. The turn for feeding the taleb -- a
[755] hired outsider who instructs the children in the reading of the Koran, drafts letters or legal documents, and furnishes amulets
[358] to cure illnesses -- maintenance of the house of prayer, systemat-
[574] atic regulation of the hospitality owed to strangers who come to spend the night in the mosque usually built apart from the village, such are the little practical problems that the assembly must solve in the best interests of all. The "jema^{c}t" augments its ac-
[185] tivity by watching over the protection of the crops, fixing the
[241] successive periods of utilization of the forest of argan trees for
[245] pasture or the harvest of the berries; it also sets the time when
[624] one can begin the plowing or the harvesting of walnuts (1),

[778] [787]

1. For magical reasons, it is often prohibited by the jema^{c}t to plow before a family that possesses "baraka" has found that circumstances are favorable for beginning the work. Cf. Laoust, Mots et Choses berbères /Berber Words and Things/, pp. 313-315. For other reasons, the harvest of walnuts or olives, which is done on trees belonging in common to a large number of owners, could be done only in the presence of the entire group, and it, too, is regulated by the council.

[423]

632. *634 /220 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ this how difficult it can be at certain stages of the constitution of small Berbère /Berber/ societies to distinguish the subfraction from the fraction, or the fraction from the tribe.

*634 II. The council of the canton. -- The "taqbilt" council forms the essential institution of the little autonomous republic of a Berbère /Berber/ canton. While the "jemaᶜt" of the [632] "moudaᶜ" is, in appearance at least, democratic, since it brings [623] together all the household heads, the representation of the families in the bosom of the council of the "taqbilt" preserves a more marked oligarchic character. Each "ikhs" is in fact represented by a single one of its members. Often, even, each hamlet [613] [621] may delegate only a single person designated by a turn, which changes every year, /221/ among the heads of the various families of the place. [556] Usually it is considered that in order to become a member of the council of the canton, which is also sometimes called the "diwan," it is advisable to be rich in order to be able, in turn, to receive the tribal council fittingly in one's house; it is good, moreover, to be clever at government and "to know how to speak in the assemblies" (1).

1. Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/ p. 6.

Sometimes tradition requires the representative of a family to speak in the name of a certain number of households -- ten in the south of the Haha, twenty among the Ida Ou Tanan (Aït Ouᶜ Azzoun).

The members of the "diwan" or canton council are most often called, in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, "the Aït Arbaᶜin" -- the forty. It is not without interest to note that this term "Aït Arbaᶜin" designates in almost all Berbère /Berber/ Morocco,

/233 cont./

*634 addressed to women who are picking up wood at the boundaries
578 of the country, pasture dispute, theft in a souk /sook/, suffice
726 to revive the memory of ancient discords and to draw up, for
628 several years, the "Indghertit" against the "Imsifern," the "Aït Atman" against the "Aït Iraten." Besides, the combats are not murderous. The warriors betake themselves to a place consecrated by tradition for the settling of disputes, and they exchange
*634 shots indefinitely. It is exceptional that a powerful alliance
578 would succeed in suddenly defeating an enemy republic; in that
628 case a village is destroyed, but the women and children are al-
727 ways spared. When success crowns the efforts of the assailants, everyone rushes to the pillage. The love of booty was enough,
[181] at the time of the Almohades, to carry along all the tribes of the Haut-Atlas to the conquest of Morocco; to see this passion of the Berbère /Berber/ for pillage being exercised, one understands the violence of the efforts that he can supply to satisfy it, and the advantage that a clever chief can draw from it.

*634 IX. The festivities and the dances. -- Ceaselessly led to
571 react against the internal divisions by calling on the bonds of
578 brotherhood, /234/ the families associated to form an independ-
182 ent "taqbilt" try in all circumstances, doubtless unknown to
796 them, to recreate unity by means of collective ceremonies: "tinoubga," dances, religious and traditional festivities, annual mousem. The social utility of these rejoicings appears all the more as one penetrates further into the social life of these small groups perpetually threatened with scission, and one understands that attendance at these festivities often takes on an obligatory and ritualistic character (1).

1. In certain fractions the notables hold the list of the girls who dance and can be summoned at the time of tribal festivities.

•621 Within the "mouda^{c}," each festival of the year, "^{c}Aïd es Seghir,"
632 "^{c}Aïd el Kebir," "^{c}Achoura," as well as marriages or
*634
796
535

/234 cont./
621 circumcisions are the occasion for rejoicings, which last each
632 time for several days, and in which first place is given to
*634 nocturnal dances (2).
796
535

2. Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, pp. 10-15.

[834] The "ahwach," the "tahwacht," the "assega," such are the dances that throughout the mountains put the young men and the women and girls in each other's presence in two opposite ranks.

796 53 The spectacle of these festivities is one of the most attractive in Berbère /Berber/ country. In the middle of each of the ranks are found the poets, the "reis en ndam," who improvise. The dancers, closely serried, shoulder to shoulder, begin with an invocation to God, then sing the lines of the poet in chorus, in a little musical phrase repeated indefinitely. Each line is taken up again and repeated by the two ranks until the moment when its answer is found; the rhythm is given by two tambourines, by the clapping of hands, a regular balancing of the body, and the noise of the heels, which strike the ground in cadence. As long as the poets wish, the song is prolonged, taken up again by the two choruses. Little by little the rhythm accelerates, the hand clapping is accelerated on the theme of the last line; for a few minutes bodies move in a frenetic, but perfectly cadenced dance; then suddenly, without a signal, the "ahwach" stops in the greatest silence.

Each poem is sung and danced for about a quarter of an hour; a few minutes of rest, the performance begins again and continues for long hours.

Most often the "ahwach" and especially the "assega" begin /235/ after sunset, on the stone threshing-floors, by the light of big fires over which the "reis" come to stretch the skins of their [361] tambourines. The village plaza, surrounded by secular walnut trees, lends its cadre to the festival. Around the two ranks of dancers the whole "taqbilt" is gathered, eyes fixed on the strongest

/249 cont./

423 171 there hardly remain a few pastures common to a whole tribe (1).

1. The independent Berbères /Berbers/ could not be concerned about the juridical distinctions established by the Sultans in the course of history in the capitulation lands, subject only to the zekkat, and the lands of "naiba" /military service/, which were, moreover, to pay off the contribution of the "kharaj" and whose soil belonged in principle to the Mussulman community. One knows that the Mérinides and the Saadians had considered the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ as "naiba" land, in order to be able more easily to burden the Masmoùdian tribes with taxes. In our day, the term "nouaib" is applied indiscriminately to all Arab or Berbère /Berber/ tribes that are subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/ or even to a chief. The "nouaib" are subjects, in contrast to the Berbères remaining free. It goes without saying that the state of submission to the Sultan does not entail, in the minds of the mountain populations, any diminution of their property rights on the land. Compare: Michaux-Bellaire, "Quelques tribus de montagnes /Some Mountain Tribes/," p. 161 and sqq.

423 794 621 437 In the villages, collective properties or the "habous" constituted for the benefit of sanctuaries are rare; as an exception, the manure deposited in the vicinity of the hamlets is often sold at auctions in order to serve for the maintenance of the mosques.

423 579 486 651 Tribal fractions often claim the cols and routes of passage as belonging to them as their own, and it is by virtue of this, it seems, that they consider themselves charged with maintaining security at the points where thieves usually meet in order to plunder travelers. Thus the "zettata," right of passage paid to the tribes by all who cross the country, and which has so often been regarded as an abuse, would appear in the eyes of the

343 /254/ They are large square houses, provided on the exterior with a single door that leads to a central courtyard onto which open four or five floors of small rooms. Access to each [417] of them is by a crude ladder carved in a tree trunk in "y" shape and by suspended passageways -- "isfoula" -- that run from one room to another. Sometimes a complete "isfoula" passageway even turns like a spiral along the four interior façades so as to run between all the floors of the agadir.

Each household possesses a variable number of rooms in the collective storehouse, two or three on the average, utilized especially for storing grain. The door of the agadir usually stays open during the day; the key is kept indiscriminately by the one of the inhabitants who comes first to use it in the morning, for there is no guard designated by the community. The hamlet [712] "agadir" is nothing like a fortress; used by a small group of households, it has the appearance of a familial storehouse. Most often the construction is ancient and the walls are falling in ruins; new storehouses have not been built any more for a long time, it seems. In many hamlets of the Deren, they are entirely ruined and are not restored. Thus the use of these little storehouses tends to be lost, and each one becomes accustomed more and more to keeping his harvests and his provisions in his own house.

343 184 [632] [621] * [634] But there exist also in the same regions other, larger agadirs in which a whole "mouda^{c}" or sometimes even a "taqbilt" comes to put its grain under shelter. This institution is still very much alive among the Ida Ou Mhamoud, in some cantons of the Seksawa, and among the Aït Gaïr and Aït Tigidar of the mountain Gedmiwa. In the region of the summits of the Sirwa these 343 712 184 large storehouses, remaining more numerous, often take on the aspect of fortresses. Then they are large rectangular constructions that enclose three or four floors of chambers for provisions; they are flanked for defense by two or four carefully placed corner towers. The agadirs of the Aït Waouzgit, built on positions easy to defend, surrounded by a rampart behind which is found the mosque, the storehouse of the jema^{c}a, that of the marabouts, /255/ the rest chambers for the guard, and a house reserved for the deliberations of the notables, truly concentrate all the social

343 /303/ In the course of his travels carried out from 1902 to
712 1907 in the land of the Seksaoua and the Ida ou Mahmoud in the
[114] Haut Atlas Occidental /Western High Atlas/, Brives pointed out the existence of collective storehouses used in these high valleys by the Berbères /Berbers/ (1).

[113]

1. Brives, Voyages au Maroc /Travels in Morocco/, Algiers, 1909.

[178] While these fortresses, to which one gives the name of agadir and which are intended for keeping the montagnards' provisions of grains and fruits, have almost all disappeared in the rest of the country, they have indeed stood intact to our day in this region neighboring the summits.

114 After the submission of these tribes to France in 1927, it was
121 possible for us, in the course of rounds carried out to reorganize
343 the local command, to visit the villages and the agadirs. With-
712 out trying to make here a complete study of this institution of
[648] collective storehouses, difficult to carry out in too limited a time, it seemed interesting to us to describe the appearance and the arrangement of these curious constructions.

343 The collective storehouses are almost all in ruins up to with-
712 in the highest part of the Asif of the Seksaoua. One finds an
178 agadir still in use only at Ikis, in the fraction /local kin group/
• 621 of the Ait Haddiyous. On the other hand, in the tribe of the Ida ou Mahmoud they have remained very numerous. In the fraction of the Ida ou Izimer /sic/, those of Ankoutouf, Tanout, Tizzirt, Annoums, and Tamjlojt are still occupied and maintained; those of Tanouzekt and Tagenza are in ruins (2).

2. Thus each village has its own in this fraction.

In the fraction of the Ait Tounert, one finds those of Talmakant and Assaka still usable, those of Oualamanon, Ouaraben, Takrekhout in ruins.

343 /305 cont./
712 the Ida ou Mahmoud, and with a little patience and perserver-
124 ance it will be possible to see them. But the custom is known
[178] by all, and it is enough to interrogate the users in order to obtain the desired information and explanations concerning it.

/306/ Agadir of Ikis (1)

[621]

1. Ikis is a village of 55 hearths. It is at the same time the most important village of the subfraction of the Ait Haddiyous formed by Ikis and the Ida ou Gerioun villages.

(Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4 and Fig. 13). -- It includes 74 chambers on
[351] two or three stories; ten almond trees grow in the interior court-
[245] yard. In good condition, it has nevertheless not been utilized any more for ten years; it served for storing nuts, raisins, peaches, and almonds. The successive poor harvests caused by frosts on
[434] the one hand, the rise in the cost of living on the other hand,
[432] forced the natives to sell a greater quantity of their products on the souq /sook/ in order to procure cotton goods, sugar, tea, and cereals for themselves. The agadir has therefore been less useful these last years, but if a good harvest of fruits should happen, such as has not been seen for a long time, the collective storehouse would be utilized anew.

[423] The agadir is the common property of the people of Ikis.
[621] Each of them owns, by virtue of ancient rights, one, two, or
[432] three chambers; ten years ago, when the storehouse was in use,
[426] some chambers were sold -- very rarely -- or mortgaged. Each owner has the keys to his chambers. In calm periods the key to the entrance gate was deposited with the fqih of the mosque, who entrusted it to the users in case of need. In troubled periods
343 two guards were placed at the agadir. They were furnished by
712 the owners in turn, according to the number of chambers that
625 they owned, or then again they continued to stay and were then paid by all the users. The agadir, situated 300 meters from the

/306 cont./
343 712 [625] village, happened to be at the center of a cirque forming a resonator, the guards would hear any suspicious noises; in this case they would fire a few gunshots and help would arrive from the village; the prowlers would then run away. No one remembers that a theft has been committed in this agadir.

Agadir of Ankoutouf (Figs. 6, 7 and Fig. 14). -- It has 90 chambers, 60 of which are used, and three stories. It is especially well constructed and maintained. It is the agadir of the [621] village of Ankoutouf (48 hearths). Each hearth owns one to [423] three chambers; property deeds attest to these rights. Four [628] rooms are mortgaged, for a price that goes from 8 to 15 douros, [426] to some natives of Tizza, a village that does not have an agadir.

Each owner has the key to his rooms. The guard, who lives 343 712 625 inside the agadir with his family, has the key to the outer gate. He is appointed for a year as a rule and is changed in October; in general /307/ /Figs. 1 and 2 appear here/ /308 is blank/ /309/ /Figs. 3 and 4 appear here/ /310 is blank/ /311/ he [465] stays longer if people are satisfied with his services. He receives a rba of barley per year and per occupied chamber. In case of 343 712 685 625 theft, the thief, if he is discovered, repays the amount of the theft and pays 50 douros as a fine. The responsibility of the guard is involved only if the theft was committed after breaking open the outer gate -- and in this case it is he who repays the amount of the theft and pays 50 douros as a fine; but if the thief found his way in through a breach made in the wall, the guard is not troubled. The fine is divided among the owners of the rooms. Since no check is made of the quantities stored in the rooms, the victim must, in case of theft, swear along with 24 coswearers in order to certify what has been taken from him.

343 712 [621] Agadir of Tanout (Fig. 5 and Fig. 15). -- Belongs to the village of Tanout (57 hearths). It contains 70 chambers on two or three stories. The two borjs /lookout towers/ are empty.

Same interior arrangements and operation as at Ankoutouf.

/311 cont./

343 712 621 423 625 [562] Agadir of Tizzirt (Fig. 19). -- Belongs to the village of Tizzirt (50 hearths). Certain inhabitants own up to five chambers there.

Same arrangements and operation as at Ankoutouf.

The guard is usually a man. As an exception, this job was entrusted to a widow in 1928.

Agadir of Annoums (Fig. 8 and Fig. 20). -- It belongs to the village of Annoums (65 hearths).

[465] [685] [184] Five stories, all 80 chambers occupied; the guard receives a kharrouba of barley per chamber and per year. In case of theft, the custom is the same as for the agadir of Ankoutouf.

Agadir of Tamjlojt (Fig. 21). -- It belongs to the village of Tamjlojt (45 hearths). Sixty rooms, four stories. The guard re-
[465] ceives one tmen of barley and one kharrouba of maize per room
[562] and per year. As an exception, this post was given to a woman last year.

Agadir of Talmakant (Fig. 16). -- It belongs to the village of Talmakant (40 hearths) and comprises 52 large rooms on two
[312] stories. It can serve both as storehouse and as réduit for defense in case of attack, because of its cistern and its interior arrangement.

[682] /312/ It is in ruins in part; it has not been used any more for 25 to 30 years because an assassination was committed there.

Agadir of Assaka (Fig. 17). -- Like the preceding one, it served both as storehouse and as fortress.

[669] It was destroyed in part following internal struggles in 1925,
[727] and it is planned to put it back into condition. It serves at present to shelter the numerous exiles who returned to the tribe after the submission and found their houses demolished.

Agadir of Azar (Fig. 18). -- It belongs to the village of Azar (28 hearths).

It normally serves as storehouse and in troubled times as fortress. The rooms are mortgaged for 5 to 20 douros. The
[465] guard, changed every year, collects a kharrouba of barley, one kharrouba of maize, and a pound of almonds.

/312 cont./

343 712 685 In case of theft, if the thief is discovered, he must, irrespective of the punitive sanction that is imposed on him by the amghar /leader/ of the fraction, indemnify his victims. If the theft was committed through a hole made in the wall and if the thief is not discovered, the village in the midst of which the agadir is built is held responsible and must indemnify the victims [625] of the theft. If the theft was committed after breaking open the entrance gate, the guard is held responsible, must indemnify the victims of the theft. The latter must bring 24 coswearers in order to certify the quantities that they declare was stolen from them.

343 712 Agadir of Amassa (Figs. 10, 11, 22). -- It belongs to the people of Amassa (80 hearths), contains 80 chambers, 3 of [621] which are on the fifth story, all are utilized; most of the doors [423] are painted and worked. A room is mortgaged for 10 to 50 [426] douros and is sold for up to 100. The guard receives a kharrouba [432] of barley per year and per room, except for three rooms on the [625] fifth story, which pay nothing. In addition, the guard is fed, as [465] the fqih of the mosque is at the present time in Berber country. He is supplied with three meals a day, each owner taking his [685] day in turn. The three rooms on the fifth pay nothing, but in return they have no right to indemnity in case of theft.

[358] Each owner is obliged to make the repairs necessary to maintain his room in good condition. Thus the owner of one /313/ /Figs. 5 and 6 appear here/ /314 is blank/ /315/ /Figs. 7 and 8 appear here/ /316 is blank/ /317/ /Figs. 9 and 10 appear here/ /318 is blank/ /319/ /Figs. 11 and 12 appear here/ /320 is blank/ /321/ chamber may take action against the one of the one below, if it should happen to collapse, or against the one of the room above, if it lets water coming from the terrace [685] leak through. In case of theft, the custom is the same as for [184] the agadir of Ankoutouf.

[621] [423] Agadir of Tajelt Oufella (Fig. 12 and Fig. 23). -- It belongs to the village of Tajelt Oufella (33 hearths). It comprises 60 rooms and four stories.

/321 cont./

343 712 625 [465] The guard is a volunteer who remains as long as he wishes, if the users are satisfied with his services. Every year he is given a half-kharrouba of barley per room, utilized or not; furthermore, he is fed by the owners of the chambers. A turn is established as follows: if there are three rooms in height, each owner in turn guarantees 3 meals a day; if there are four rooms in height, the owners of the highest and lowest ones together guarantee a day; the following day it is the owners of the middle chambers. [358] [184] The same rules as at Amassa are followed for the respective responsibility of the users in case of collapse or the infiltration of water. The guard is responsible only for thefts committed [685] after a break through the outer gate, not for those that have been made through a breach in the wall. The thief, if he is discovered, repays the amount of the theft and gives a cow that is divided among the owners, taking into account the number of chambers; the same rule is applied against the guard, if he is responsible. The victims of the theft provide 24 coswearers.

343 712 621 423 358 [685] [184] Agadir of Meggount (Fig. 24). -- It belongs to the inhabitants of the village of Meggount (80 hearths). The rules for its operation are the same as at Tajelt Oufella in what concerns poor maintenance and theft.

In all these collective storehouses, if repairs concerning the agadir itself and not only one room become necessary, all the co-owners are jointly liable. They carry out the work in common and, according to the number of shops they occupy, bear the costs caused by this repair, for the purchase of wood, the salary of the workers, or any other expenditure.

Imi n Tanout, 15 March 1928.

Lieutenant Pierre Dupas.

/Page 322 is blank, but precedes an unpaginated folded insert bearing Figs. 13-24./

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

TABLE II

Basic Units of Social Traditional Organization Among the Berber-speakers of Morocco

Social Units	Berber Ethnic Groups			
	Shluh	Beraber	Riffian	Zenata
Nuclear Family	*Taka, takat, kanoun* ("hearth")	*kanoun* ("hearth")	*nubth* ("turn")	
Patrilineal Extended Family	*tigemmi, adouar*	*adham* ("bone"), *rif* ("edge")	*azwar* ("vein" or "penis"), *sajghu, jij*	*tighssat*
Minor Lineage (constituting either a village or a village segment)	*ikhs* ("bone"), *afus* ("hand")	*asoun, tigemmi* or *adouar, tighst*	*ikhs* ("bone"), *tarfiqth*	*ikhs* ("bone")
Major Lineage or Commune (usually constituted of both related and unrelated lineages)	*mouda* ("village, place")	*ikhs* ("bone"), *fakhda*	*arrba* ("fourth"), *fariqath*	*lferqa*
District	*taqbilt* ("district") *khums* ("fifth")	*khums* ("fifth")	*rebaa* ("fourth"), *khums* / *thakhammasth* } ("fifth")	*rebaa* ("fourth")
Tribe	*taqbilt*	*taqbilt, qabila*	*zakoir, thakabitch, qabila*	*taqbilt*
Confederation	(no name)	(no name)	(no name)	*idrasen*

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596
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621
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4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

some other part of the country. If he stops among the Riffians or Shluh he may hire himself out to a landowner in a village; among the Beraber he may put himself under the protection of an influential member by sacrificing a sheep in front of his protector's house or tent as a shame compulsion. In either case he resides with the extended family and contributes his labor; he does not become a member with inheritance rights, however, unless he marries into the extended family with the authorization of the council of elders. This custom of enlarging the household through "adoption" was particularly important in the periods of vendatta warfare, allowing a family to replenish its possibly decimated ranks (Coon, 1931, pp. 90-91; Montagne, 1930, pp. 43-44; Spillman, 1936, p. 44; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 520-528, 535-536).

c. *Minor Lineages*

Those extended families which can trace their descent through the male line form a common ancestor six or eight generations removed form a minor lineage (minor in the sense that larger lineages may occur). In most Berber tribes this is the largest unit to be based on blood alone. The minor lineage is known among the Shluh as an *ikhs* (pl. *ikhsan*; "bone") or *afus* (pl. *ifassen*; "hand") (Adam, 1951, pp. 39, 69; Berque, 1955, pp. 30-40; Doutté, 1905, p. 8; Montagne, 1930, pp. 43-44, 151; Querleux, 1915, p. 21); as an *asoun* (pl. *issoun*), *tigemmi* (pl. *tigumma*, "house"), or *adouar* (pl. *idouaren*; from Arabic *douar*, "camp circle") among the Beraber (Abes, 1917, pp. 187-188; Deverdun, 1952, p. 312; Querleux, 1915, p. 22); as an *ikhs* or *tarfiqth* (pl. *tarfiqin*) among the Riffians (Coon, 1931, p. 90; Hart, 1954, pp. 60-63); and as an *ikhs* among the Zenata (Marcy, 1929, p. 138). It has been variously designated in the literature as a "family" (Doutte, 1905; Montagne, 1930; Querleux, 1915), a "village-segment" or *hauma* (Coon, 1931, Montagne, 1930), a "village" (Coon, 1931), or a "clan" (Abes, 1917; Hart, 1954; Querleux, 1915). The minor lineage may, under certain conditions, constitute a village-segment, and under other conditions, a village – the correspondence of such a kinship group with such a population focus being a matter of great variability and confusion. It is not, however, a clan, for it is endogamous under most circumstances,

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

the levirate than a matter of personal choice, for most Wuryāghlīs are monogamous through economic necessity; the only cases of polygynous marriages which I know of personally are generally speaking, those of important tribal functionaries: *jaris*, *muqaddams*, *shaikhs*, *qā'ids* and *qadis*...

The size and power of the *thārfiqth* is augmented by landless strangers who have emigrated from their own villages or tribes or fled from them because of some crime they have committed. These strangers contract work as *ikhammāsen* for the *jājghū* heads, and in time they may marry the latters' daughters. In this case the incipient *jājghū* which is formed when children are born is matronymic, taking the name of its mother rather than of its father because of his lack of prestige; rules of residence are then matrilocal, by the same token. Although a *jājghū* of this type could take no part in the governmental activities of the village in which it was located, it had to assume as full responsibilities as the other native *ijājgha* in time of war. As many of the new *ijājgha* considered this an unfair arrangement, they often broke away from the parent *thārfiqth* to found the nuclei of new *thārfiqin* of their own...

In the Wuryāghli sense of being a "whole family", the internal solidaity of the *thārfiqth* is greatly strengthened not only by the kin ties of the native members, but by the fictional relationship of the stranger accretions as well. Thus, while the individual *ijājgha* of a *thārfiqth* may be small in number of personnel, the *thārfiqth* of a whole can usually supply some fifty men of age to fast during Ramaḍān, therefore being capable of bearing arms in addition. It was the *thārfiqth* and not the *jājghū* which functioned as the unit of vengeance, as the unity of the whole family was an absolute necessity for its continued existence... (Hart, 1954, pp. 60-62).

613 [171] 613 • 621 Among the Shluh the minor lineage is of equal importance, and many of the features described for the Riffians also hold true. However, the complex and almost haphazard connection between a minor lineage and a village, or part of a village, is particularly prominent. An *ikhs* may constitute part of a hamlet or village, together with other such units; it may constitute an entire village by itself; or parts of it may be distributed through several villages, sharing these with other lineages. No set pattern apparently exists, and there is no close relationship between this pattern and the political or administrative units. This situation is reflected by great confusion in the sources – a confusion which can be best be avoided by carefully differentiating between units defined primarily by kinship (though also by geographical proximity in the higher levels), and

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

those defined by common residence in a nucleated or semi-nucleated community. A common approach to the problem is that illustrated by Montagne, who distinguished five units for the southern and central Shluh: the extended family, the minor lineage (*ikhs*), the *mouda* or "sous-fraction", the fraction or canton, and the tribe. The distinction between kinship unit and community unit is not made, however.

Les unités sociales les plus faciles à définir sont les plus petites et il est particulièrement aisé d'observer la vie du hameau, du village et de la sous-fraction dont l'activité se trouve limitée aux circonstances de l'existence quotidienne.

Dans toute la montagne des Masmouda, la plupart des habitants des vallées vivent groupés en petits hameaux de vingt à trente feux, construits sur les pentes ensoleillées ou sur un piton détaché ou une roche élevée, en un lieu propice à la défense. Chaque hameau, "tadchert", est habituellement peuplé de deux ou trois groupes familiaux, auxquels on donne le nom d' "Ikhs". Ce sont là, nous l'avons vu, de petites unités patriarcales et agnatiques formées par les fils et les petits-fils d'un même père, vivant plus ou moins dans l'indivision, augmentées souvent par des apports étrangers.

Il arrive d'ailleurs souvent que chaque "ikhs" occupe un groupe séparé de maisons. Le hameau prend parfois le nom d'un lieu-dit ou d'un accident topographique... Souvent, aussi, c'est le nom de la famille qui l'emporte sur celui du lieu habité...

Trois ou quatre hameaux rapprochés les uns des autres, ou un gros village, comme ceux qui existent parfois à la partie supérieure des oueds, au voisinage des riches pâturages des sommets, forment généralement une unité à laquelle on donne souvent dans cette région le nom de "mouda'", et que nous appelons dans notre terminologie administrative la sous-fraction. Une "mousquée du vendredi" où les étrangers de passage viennent demander l'hospitalité, un "agadir" ou magasin collectif, dans les régions où cette institution s'est conservée, et surtout l'existence d'une "jema'a", assemblée de tous les hommes en état de porter les armes, telles sont les institutions du "mouda'"... (Montagne, 1930, pp. 151-152).

Berque, speaking from his experiences among the Seksaoua (559) of the western High Atlas, presents a somewhat different analysis of a situation in which the *mouda* is perhaps somewhat variant.

La forme de l'habitat est celle du "hameau" *Inud'a* aux maisons soudées, opposant à la menace externe un périmètre sans fissure. L'agglomé-

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

lineage here does often seem to be based primarily upon descent and may be considered a major lineage. Furthermore, lineage structures intermediate between the minor and major lineages are indicated for the Beni Mtir (231-232) (the *tighst*, pl. *tighsatin*) and for the Ait Ouallal tribe (475) of the Ait Atta (see Table III; and Abes, 1917, p. 189; Evans-Pritchard, 1940, pp. 192-205; Spillman, 1936, p. 47).

d. *Commune or Major Lineage*

The minor lineages of the Berbers, as has been indicated above, come together to form a larger group which may be designated as a "commune". Among the Shluh this unit is commonly termed a *mouda* ("locality"), or sometimes a *jema'a* (Doutté, 1905; Montagne, 1930, p. 151); the Beraber designate it as a *fakhda* ("division") or as an *ikhs* (pl., *ikhsan* or *ikhusas*) (Abes, 1917, p. 188; Quelreux, 1915, p. 22; Spillman, 1936, p. 44); the Riffians as *fariqath* or as *arrba* (pl., *roboa'*, from the Arabic *rebaa*, "fourth") (Coon, 1931, p. 91; Hart, 1954, p. 66); and the Zenata as *lferqa* (from *el ferqa*, "eighth") (Marcy, 1929, pp. 138-139). In the anthropological literature this unit has been designated as a "canton" (Coon, 1931; Hart, 1954), "sous-fraction" (Deverdun, 1942; Montagne, 1930; Querleux, 1915), "sous-groupes", or "grands *ikhs*" (Berque, 1955).

In most cases the commune is not simply a lineage, for, although most of its component lineages may feel themselves to be related, others are not. Among the Riffians, for example,

> ... the *canton* [i.e., commune] is a group of *bones* [minor lineages] which may or may not be related in blood; it occupies a single geographical unit-area, such as a valley with its contiguous mountains up to their crests. Relationship between the *bones* composing a *canton* depends on whether or not the *bone* of oldest standing has split to form other groups, and whether or not immigrant *bones* have entered or been formed by the enlargement of *veins* [extended families] descended from strangers. In most *cantons* one finds both related and unrelated *bones*. Loyalty within the *canton* is seldom very strong, and in many if not most instances wars have been fought within *cantons*... (Coon, 1931, pp. 91-92).

This is essentially the same definition of a commune as given by Montagne (see p. 53, above) for the Shluh.

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Among the sedentary tribes the importance and function of the commune varies greatly depending upon circumstances, particularly upon the nature and independence of the community units. Among the Haha (530-541) the settlement pattern is one of widely dispersed households, and nucleated communities are rare; furthermore all the minor lineages within a commune are generally related so that the commune is often equivalent to a major lineage. Under these circumstances the interest and requirements of the commune prevail over those of its component units, and the solidarity of the group is manifested by its sense of common origin, unity, and of *h'orma* or "honor" – the violation of which by an outsider sanctions a vendetta. The commune has a special mosque, a communal granary, a communal cemetery, and communal property such as that surrounding the settlements, pastureland, and brushwood forests (where the members obtain their cooking wood and where they can attempt to grow a crop of barley if they wish to gamble on unirrigated land). The commune is also characterized by a representative council, and an elected or appointed chief; its principal functions are the maintenance of the communal mosque as a religious center, a school, and a communal center; the maintenance of the granary; the maintenance of the cemetery and its enclosure, and the distribution of lots to the member families; the arbitration and adjudication of boundary and property disputes between its members; the division of inheritances; the maintenance or lodging of strangers; the distribution of irrigation water; the policing of cultivated fields and of fruit trees; the planning and regulation of communal labor for plowing, harvesting, forest clearing, or irrigation works; and providing officials for certain domestic ceremonies, particularly weddings (Doutté, 1905).

In situations where villages have assumed most purely local administrative functions, the commune – and the larger unit, the district – concerns itself more with problems of political stability – adjudicating and arbitrating disputes between its component units, administering the commune market, and generally maintaining the peace. Hart's description of the commune (*farīqath*) among the Beni Uriaguel (99), who have well-developed village organizations, reflects this difference in emphasis:

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... In the minds of the tribepeople the *fariqath* is ultimately a descent grouping the members of which are related by blood, although the genealogical steps leading back to the common ancestor (if there was a common ancestor) are no longer traceable. We can find elements of one *fariqath* in the territory of another, and in only about half of these divisions, principally those in the southern mountains, the most homogeneous part of the tribal territory, do we see that the tribal and administrative concepts of the *fariqath* coincide. The importance of this group is political rather than social, because there are always some *thârfiqin* within the cantonal territory which are not related to the others by blood. In general, ties which hold the members of a canton [i.e., commune] together are largely those of common interests: on Fridays they all go to the principal cantonal mosque (*thamzida n khuṭbath*) to pray and to listen to the sermon preached by the *faqih*. Blood relationship between the members of a canton, however tenuous it may be, nevertheless helps to keep peace, and cantonal wars have usually been heaviest in those cantons which show a greater mixture of various elements... (Hart, 1954, p. 66).

It should be noted that in some small tribes, communes are absent, all local social and political functions being assumed by the minor lineages and the village organizations (Berque, 1955, p. 65).

The commune or *ikhs* of the Beraber may at times be equivalent to a major lineage, with all of its components tracing descent from a common ancestor; usually, however, some of the lineages are unrelated to others, and the unit is held together more by sense of geographical proximity and common destiny than by relationship. The sense of unity is symbolized by the use of the term "brother" between the male members. The autonomy of the individual lineages is so strong, however, that these may join another commune, or even another tribe, if they so desire. The commune affirms its existence, and expects loyalty from its members, only in time of common danger or crisis (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 152-153; Querleux, 1915, p. 22; Spillman, 1936, pp. 44-45).

The commune seems to have a greater significance, even if symbolic, among the Beni Ouarain (241-267) of the Zenata:

... L'originalité de la "ferqa" se trouve toutefois mise en relief par l'existence, à l'intérieur de chacune de ces fractions, d'un "ighss" qui revêt entre tous les autres la qualité d'"Ait A'ouwâm". Semblables aux "inflâs" [notables] du Soûs, les "Ait A'ouwâm" incarnent dans les graves occasions l'honneur de la fraction toute entière dont ils ont pour tâche

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

C. FORMAL LOCAL INSTITUTIONS FOR SOCIAL ACTION AND CONTROL

1. *Berber Representative Councils*

Formal traditional tribal controls among the Berbers – Shluh, Beraber, Riffian, and Zenata alike – are based upon a system of superimposed representative councils. Most commonly these are designated by the term *jemaa*, a slight Berberization from the Arabic *ejjemaa*. Other terms, however, are also in use: such are *ait arbain* ("sons of the forty") – employed throughout the High Atlas, Middle Atlas, and the Rif, usually with reference to the council of a tribe or independent district; *diwan* – used by some of the Shluh to refer to the council of the district; *inflas* (pl. of *anflous*, "notable") – used by the Shluh of the Sous region and the Anti-Atlas; and *ayarau* (pl. *iyarawen*) – used in the Rif to refer to the tribal council (Coon, 1931, p. 96; Loubignac, 1942, p. 280; Montagne, 1930, pp. 220-222).

623 634 635 [171] [192]

a. *Structure*

In theory, the *jemaa* of the minor lineage or village (the smallest groups to have councils) among most Berber groups (the *ksour* inhabitants excepted) are composed of the heads of each family or tent within the minor lineage or village, each of these family heads having a voice in the deliberations. In practice only the most "notable" of these (usually one per extended family) actually participate in council activities – the status of "notable" (*ikhatar*, pl. *ikhataren* in *Tamazight*) being achieved entirely on the basis of personal character, age, courage in combat, religious piety, acquired authority, or wealth. The *jemaa* therefore traditionally has the character of a gerontocracy; in this they are supported by the general attitude that the elders are the *ait l'ak'oul*, that is, the people of experience and judgment, and they should guide and command the young. Young married men, heads of families, may attend the council, but must remain content to listen to and approve the words of their elders (Doutté, 1905; Loubignac, 1942, p. 280; Montagne, 1930, pp. 220-224).

621 623 [554] [561]

Some exceptions exist to this general rule. Thus Coon (1930, pp. 96-98) found that among some of the Riffians the village council (or

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minor lineage council) was composed of two or three boys from each of the extended families claiming descent from the common founder of the minor lineage. These boys were chosen by the members of the comune council (the "council of the great"), supposedly by virtue of their superior intelligence and promise of future ability. These junior notables followed the general pattern governing council conduct – electing a *moqaddem* (pl. *moqaddemin*; "moderator"), meeting in the village mosque, and judging minor cases brought before them. Their elders saw to it that their decisions were enforced. Since Coon also found many cases in which village councils were absent, it seems reasonable to conclude that in this region, at least, the institution did not serve an important function.

Each of the social units existing above the minor lineage or village customarily has its own representative council composed of representatives or delegates from the inferior social unit (usually this is equivalent to a delegate from the council of the inferior unit). Thus the *jemaa* of the commune consists of representatives from each minor lineage council; the *jemaa* of the district may consist of representatives from each commune or village; and the *jemaa* of the tribe, of representatives from each district. In the Rif, however, the district council is absent (this is also the case, naturally, among those Beraber groups in which the district is not present), and the tribal council is composed of representatives from each commune or village (Coon, 1931, pp. 96-98; Loubignac, 1942, p. 280; Montagne, 1930, pp. 219-221).

Among the *ksar*-dwellers of southern Morocco the institution of the *jemaa* shows considerable modification. In Ksar Nesrat, for example, superimposed councils are absent – instead the tribal government is embodied in a single bicameral organization composed of a superior assembly (*Jemaa el Kebira*) and an inferior assembly (*Jemaa el'amma*). The seats within the superior assembly are the property of the noble extended families within each of the seven division of the *ksar* (these divisions are probably morphologically equivalent to major lineages or communes – see Table III), and are filled by representatives selected by each of these noble families. Each division is therefore represented in proportion to the number of its noble families. Once designated, the councillors

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635 lasting for four days, are marked by various forms of entertain-
666 ment, with banquets playing a leading role. Only after the con-
527 clusion of the festivities does the tribal council turn to the task of selecting the new tribal leader (Loubignac, 1942, p. 282).

635 To ensure strict equality between the various divisions of the
666 tribe each is called upon in turn to designate a member as a can-
[643] didate for tribal chief – while if the office is that of supreme chief over the many tribes of a single confederation (this chief being appointed sometimes in time of war) those divisions having the privilege of making nominations are selected by lot. Once elected the appointee is theoretically prevented from rejecting the profer-red honor by a sense of moral obligation – a sense reinforced in some tribes by the threat of sanctions. Nevertheless, there is in practice always some resistance to the appointment, for the office carries with it great responsibility and heavy expenses (Loubignac, 1942, p. 283).

635 After his succession to office the new *amghar* carries out two
631 measures which are indispensable for the effective exercise of his authority. First, he appoints from among the notables of each division one who is to act as the "respondant" or "guarantor" for that division – this respondant being responsible for the conduct of the members of the division, for the execution of orders given by the
[621] *amghar*, and for the application of sanctions if necessary. The res-
[613] pondant of each division or fraction in turn designates repondants in every commune over which he has jurisdiction, and these commune respondants in turn designate respondants for each village or
[182] minor lineage. This system of command and of delegation of authority assures the execution of orders given by the *amghar*, but also acts to promote the autonomy of the smaller social units, for the minor respondants and council members take care of all local problems in their own way without interference from the tribal *amghar*. The second step carried through by the *amghar* is to revise and enlarge the schedule of fines so as to encourage obedience to his promulgations (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 227; Loubignac, 1942, p. 283).

635 In the traditional democratic Berber republic the duties of the
554 *amghar* are often poorly defined, for they often duplicate those still

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

571 563 which would exist if they were collateral kinsmen. Such a relationship, established by a covenant, may have a military purpose, a number of families within a village forming alliances for mutual defense or to increase their strength for purposes of vengeance. If • [621] such a military alliance is formed in response to an act perpetrated within the village, it is usually countered by a second, so that the entire village becomes divided into two rival divisions, known as *sof* in Arabic and as *ameqqon* in Tashilhait. Such a polarization of the village is not an inevitable consequence of the use of the alliance mechanism, however, for the alliance may also have as its purpose such peaceful goals as the sharing of irrigated farmland or pastureland (Bruno and Bousquet, 1946, pp. 364-365; Marcy, 1929, p. 141; Montagne, 1931, p. 196; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 564-565).

The concept of the alliance of individuals and families through a bond of brotherhood is extended further to the concept of the alliance by brotherhood of larger groups. Two general cases occur; 628 571 *tada* alliances and *leff* alliances. Of these, *tada* alliances are the least inclusive, generally being established by covenant between two divisions or even two tribes already linked by some form of ethnic 628 571 171 tie. Although *tada* alliances are not unknown among the Shluh (see for example, Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, p. 526), they are most frequent among the transhumants, here having vitally important economic functions. As with the *taimat*, or *tagmat*, the symbolism of the *tada* alliance emphasizes the establishment of ties of brotherhood between the two groups; this is clearly expressed among the Beni Ouarain (241-267), where the two groups exchange containers of milk, the contents of which are then poured on the ground between to symbolize the nourishment of both groups by the milk of a common mother, such symbolism is also occasionally resorted to in the casting of *'ar* on the *amur* type alliance (type 2, Table V), when a fugitive touches a woman, pretends to suck her breast, sits down in front of her, or turns her handmill – for he thus becomes, as it were, her son. Among the Ait Atta (465-491) this symbolic act is reserved for the ceremony of *afergant*, a *tada* alliance being established instead by a ceremony of covenanting involving the exchange of slippers or cloaks (Bruno and Bousquet, 1946, pp. 365-368; Deverdun, 1942, p. 314, Marcy, 1929, p. 142; Spillmann,